

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01  
    INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15  
    ICA-11 BIB-01 ACDA-12 EB-08 COME-00 IO-13 TRSE-00  
    /105 W

-----012457 031916Z /40

R 031400Z JUL 78  
FM AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4840  
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 SOFIA 1300

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: CSCE, US, XH  
SUBJECT: NEW CSCE APPROACHES TO SOVIET UNION AND EAST EUROPEAN  
          STATES: BULGARIA

REF: A) STATE 120984; B) SOXIA 1063

1. SUMMARY: EMBASSY PROPOSES TO APPROACH GOB AT DEPUTY  
FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL TO MAKE BALANCED, POSITIVE AND  
CRITICAL, DEMARCHE ON PRESENT STATE OF BULGARIAN IMPLEMEN-  
TATION OF CSCE. APPROACH WOULD INCLUDE POINT THAT CSCE  
DISCUSSIONS ARE IN NATURE OF A DIALOGUE, WELCOMING BULGARIAN  
COMMENT. BASKET ONE POINTS WOULD INCLUDE SHIP VISIT,  
BROADENED ATTACHE EXPOSURE, AND POSSIBILITY OF GOB PER-  
MITTING OBSERVATION OF MANEUVERS UNDER 25,000. BASKET TWO  
DISCUSSION WOULD BE BASICALLY POSITIVE ON IMPROVED BUSINESS  
CONTACTS BUT CRITICAL OF POOR GOB PERFORMANCE ON ECONOMIC  
AND COMMERCIAL INFORMATION. BASKET THREE POINTS WOULD  
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NOTE FAVORABLY DEVELOPMENTS IN EXCHANGE AREA AND DEVELOP-  
MENT IN VISA AREA. IT WOULD RAP GOB SHARPLY ON WESTERN  
NEWSPAPERS UNAVAILABILITY AND DISTORTED MEDIA COVERAGE.  
WE WOULD REMIND THEM AGAIN OF OUR CONTINUED GREAT INTEREST  
IN DIVIDED FAMILIES, WHERE RESOLUTION IS AT PRESENT MOVING  
SLOWLY. REQUEST DEPT'S APPROVAL. END SUMMARY.

2. RATIONALE: EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT AN ACROSS-THE-BOARD APPROACH TO THE GOB ON CSCE AT THIS TIME WOULD BE APPROPRIATE. IN A SENSE, MAKING IT NOW REGARDLESS OF WHETHER AN APPROACH IS MADE TO THE USSR OR TO SOME OTHER EE STATES AT THIS TIME QUIETLY MAKES THE POINT THAT THE US CONSIDERS ITS POLICY TOWARD BULGARIA TO BE IN PART SEPARATE FROM US/SOVIET RELATIONS, A POINT CONSISTENT WITH OUR OVERALL POLICY OBJECTIVES TOWARD BULGARIA. BULGARIA HAS SHOWN SOME SENSITIVITY ON HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS IN GENERAL RECENTLY, PRIME EXAMPLE BEING DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER TSVETKOV'S HOMILY TO VISITING DAS LUERS JUNE 2 (REF B), BUT EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT THIS SHOULD NOT PRECLUDE--AND PERHAPS ARGUES FOR--A US APPROACH ON CSCE AT THIS TIME.

3. TIMING: EMBASSY PREFERS TO MAKZ APPROACH NOW, ALTHOUGH WE HAVE NO MAJOR OBJECTION WAITING UNTIL FALL. GOB HAS NOT YET SHUT DOWN FOR THE SUMMER. IN ADDITION, AN APPROACH NOW, IN ADVANCE OF BULGARIAN/US ECONOMIC COUNCIL MEETING IN LATE AUGUST, PLOVDIV INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR IN SEPTEMBER, EXPECTED MEETING OF THE SECRETARY WITH FOREIGN MINISTER MLADENOV AT THE UNGA, AND DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER TSVETKOV'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON IN NOVEMBER, SEEMS TO US TO HAVE SOME ADVANTAGES IN TERMS OF SEQUENCE AND SPACING IN CONTEXT OF OVERALL CONDUCT OF US/BULGARIAN RELATIONS.

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4. LEVEL: EMBASSY PROPOSES THAT AMBASSADOR SEEK EARLY APPOINTMENT WITH DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER TSVETKOV TO MAKE DEMARCHE. TSVETKOV'S RESPONSIBILITIES INCLUDE CSCE AND RELATIONS WITH US, AND HE WILL BE VISITING US. AMBASSADOR HAS RECENTLY DISCUSSED SOME OF THESE ISSUES INFORMALLY WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER. IF APPROACH IS TO BE MADE LATER IN ALL OF EE CAPITALS AT FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL, WEO BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD THEN FOLLOW THAT PROCEDURE IN SOFIA AS WELL, IN ADDITION TO PITCH NOW TO TSVETKOV.

5. CONTENT: AMBASSADOR WOULD PLACE APPROACH IN CONTEXT OF CSCE AS AN ONGOING PROCESS, FOLLOWING BELGRADE AND PREPARING FOR MADRID, AN APPROACH THAT ALL SIGNATORIES REMAIN FIRMLY COMMITTED TO. GENERAL DISCUSSION OF ALL THREE BASKETS WOULD BE FORTIFIED WITH SPECIFIC POINTS OF BALANCED CRITICISM AND APPROVAL, WHERE APPROPRIATE. US CONSIDERS DISCUSSION OF CSCE A DIALOGUE AND SEES THIS DISCUSSION AS OPPORTUNITY FOR GOB COMMENT ON US SIDE OF

CSCE AS WELL.

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6. IN GZNERAL, MANY DEVELOPMENTS IN RECENT US/BULGARIAN BIGATERAL RELATIONS ARE GENERALLY CONSISTENT WITH CSCE PRINCIPLES. THESE INCLUDE THZ RECENT SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE OPENING ROUND BETWEEN THE FOREIGN BONDHOLDERS PROTECTIVE COUNCIL (FBPC) AND THE GOB, THE COMMENCEMENT OF NEGOTIATIONS OF A MARITIME AGREEMENT, THE SIGNATURE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THZ CULTURAL AGREEMENT, THE ELIMINATION OF DISCRIMINATORY TRAVZL RESTRICTIONS ON EACH OTHER'S DIPLOMATS, AND SOME PROGRESS THAT HAS BEEN MADE IN NEGOTIATING A JOINT AGRICULTURAL STATEMENT. WHILE THESE MATTERS DO NOT FALL DIRECTLY UNDER CSCE, THAY ARE CONSISTENT WITH CSCE PRINCIPLES AND ARE SIGNS OF GENERALLY POSITIVE TREND IN BILATERAL RELATIONS.

7. BASKET ONE: BULGARIA HAS GENERALLY BEEN INACTIVE IN CBMS AREA. IT HAS NOT YET ANNOUNCED A MANEUVER, FOR EXAMPLE, AND OUR MILITARY ATTACHES HERE HAVE BEEN KEPT AWAY FROM ANYTHING BUT THE MOST INNOCUOUS BULGARIAN MILITARY ESTABGISHMENTS OR ACTIVITIES. CONTEMPLATED APPROACH

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TARY ESTABGISHMENTS OR ACTIVITIES. CONTEMPLATED APPROACH

WOULD EMPHASIZE THAT GOB AGREEMENT TO PROPOSED USN SHIP VISIT TO A BLACK SEA PORT WOULD BE VERY POSITIVE STEP FORWARD IN BASKET ONE AREA. NOTING THAT, UNTIL NOW, ATTACHES HAVE VISITED ONLY BULGARIAN MILITARY TRAINING FACILITIES, REQUEST WOULD BE MADE TO BROADEN ATTACHES' EXPOSURE TO OPERATIONAL COMBAT UNITS, WITH SUGGESTION OF RECIPROCAL OPPORTUNITY FOR BULGARIAN ATTACHES IN US. NOTING ABSENCE OF BULGARIAN NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS, AND THAT THIS IS UNDOUBTEDLY DUE TO FACT THAT NONE HAVE BEEN ABOVE 25,000 LEVEL, AMBASSADOR WOULD SUGGEST THAT GOB MIGHT WISH TO CONSIDER PERMITTING ATTACHES TO OBSERVE A SMALLER MANEUVER.

8. BASKET TWO:

A. BUSINESS CONTACTS: IN AREA OF BUSINESS CONTACTS, BULGARIAN PERFORMANCE CAN GENERALLY BE SAID TO HAVE IMPROVED DURING PERIOD SINCE FINAL ACT SIGNATURE AND PARTICULARLY IN PAST HALF YEAR (ALTHOUGH IT IS HARD TO DISCUSS A CAUSE AND EFFECT RELATIONSHIP WITH CSCE). SPECIFIC EXAMPLES ARE RELATIONS BETWEEN AMERICAN FIRMS, EMBASSY, AND MINISTRIES OF CHEMICAL INDUSTRY AND METALLURGY/MINERAL RESOURCES. BASKET TWO APPROACH WOULD BEGIN BY MAKING THIS POSITIVE POINT AND STATING THAT WE HOPE THAT THIS TREND TOWARD MORE OPENNESS WILL CONTINUE, THROUGH THE AUGUST MEETING OF THE BULGARIAN/US ECONOMIC COUNCIL AND THE PLOVDIV TRADE FAIR, WITH THE ULTIMATE GOAL OF REMOVING ANY JUSTIFICATION FOR THE COMPLAINTS WHICH WE STILL RECEIVE FROM TIME TO TIME FROM AMERICAN FIRMS OF BULGARIAN ORGANIZATIONS NOT RESPONDING TO BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS, SLOWNESS IN GRANTING APPOINTMENTS, ETC.

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B. ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL INFORMATION: ON THE NEGATIVE SIDE, EMBASSY WOULD NOTE THAT BULGARIAN PROVISION OF SUCH INFORMATION HAS NOT IMPROVED AT ALL SINCE FINAL ACT SIGNATURE. INFORMATION IS STILL SCANT, UNTIMELY, AND AGGREGATED IN UNHELPFUL OR UNINFORMATIVE -6. BASIC GOB PUBLICATION ON FOREIGN TRADE FOR 1977, VUNSHNA TURGOVIA, IS STILL NOT OUT, MORE THAN HALFWAY THROUGH THE FOLLOWING YEAR. MOST RECENT GOB ECONOMIC STATISTICS HANDBOOK, STATISTICHESKI GODISHNIK FOR 1977, WHICH CONTAINS 1976 DATA, CONTAINS NO MORE INFORMATION ON BULGARIAN ECONOMIC THAN PRE-CSCE YEARS' EDITIONS.

9. BASKET THREE: THIS AREA WILL OBVIOUSLY BE ONE OF SOME SENSITIVITY FOR THE BULGARIANS, IN PART BECAUSE OF SOVIET POLICY, BUT ALSO BECAUSE IT IS GENERALLY A WEAK AREA OF COMPLIANCE FOR THE GOB, DESPITE ITS RELATIVELY REASON-

ABLE RECORD ON DIVIDED FAMILIES IN THE LONG HAUL FROM  
AUGUSTH1975 TO PRESZNT.

A. CULOURAL AND EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES: AMBASSADORO  
WOULD BEGIN BY CONGRATULATING BOTH SIDES ON THE HIGHER  
LEVEL OF EXCHANGZS OF PEOPLE AND CULTURAL PRESENTATIONS  
DURING THE CSCE PERIOD (IN CONTRAST WITH MUCH MORE DIFFI-  
CULT PERIOD IN PAST) AND ESPECIALLY SINCE JUNE 1977  
SIGNING OF AGREEMENT AND VROGRAM. THERE IS MORE TO DO,  
OF COURSE--EXCHANGE MECHANISMS ARE STILL NOT RUNNING  
SMOOTHLY, PROGRAMMING MUST BE CHANNELED THROUGH MINISTRY  
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, A CUMBERSOME PROCEDURE, AND BULGARIANS  
ARE RELUCTANT TO GO BEYOND MINIMAL PROVISIONS OF THE  
PROGRAM AND TO ACCEPT CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN PERFORMING

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ARTISTS, BUT, IN GENERAL, THIS IS AN AREA FOR SOME  
MUTUAL SATISFACTION.

B. MEDIA: TO OUR DISAPPOINTMENT, SALES OF WESTERN  
NEWSPAPERS STILL HAVE NOT RESUMED IN SOFIA AND PERIODICALS  
HAVE NEVER BEEN ON SALE. (LIMITED NEWSPAPER SALES BEGAN  
IN\$APRIL 1977 AND CONTINUED THROUGH EARLY 1978 WHEN THEY  
ABRUPTLY CEASED, NEAR THE END OF THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE.)  
WE WOULD ONCE AGAIN URGE THE GOB TO ACT IN ACCORDANCE

WITH PRINCIPLES OF CSCE IN THIS REGARD. ALSO, DESPITE THE CONTINUING AMERICAN DESIRE TO COOPERATE IN PROVIDING USEFUL AND INTERESTING MATERIALS ON AMERICAN LIFE AND SOCIETY FOR USE BY BULGARIAN MEDIA--PRESS, RADIO AND TV--, WE HAVE STILL NOT MET A WELCOMING RESPONSE ON BULGARIAN SIDE. OUR OFFER REMAINS OPEN AND WE CAN ONLY SAY THAT WE FIND THE PICTURE OF THE US NOW PRESENTED BY BULGARIAN MEDIA TO THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE TO BE ONE-SIDED AND, IN SOME CASES, SIMPLY INACCURATE.

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C. TRAVEL: WE ARE PLEASED TO NOTE THAT THE GOB HAS RESPONDED POSITIVELY TO OUR OFFER TO DISCUSS AT THE WORKING LEVEL OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS THE SUBJECT OF EXTENDING RECIPROCALLY PERIOD OF VALIDITY OF VISAS ISSUED TO DIPLOMATS OF TWO COUNTRIES. (IT NOW STANDS AT SIX MONTHS; WE ARE EXPLORING ONE YEAR OR DURATION OF TOUR.)

D. DIVIDED FAMILIES: LIST OF TWENTY-FIVE CASES, INVOLVING SOME FIFTY PEOPLE, WAS PRESENTED TO MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS BY THE AMBASSADOR ON APRIL 27. WHEN DAS LUERS RAISED MATTER WITH TSVETKOV JUNE 2 (REF B), HE PROFESSED LACK OF KNOWLEDGE OF MATTER. HE HAS PERHAPS HAD OPPORTUNITY SINCE TO LOOK MORE DEEPLY INTO IT. WE NOTE THAT ONE CASE HAS BEEN RESOLVED AND ANOTHER PARTIALLY SINCE LIST WAS SUBMITTED, BUT THAT ANOTHER CASE HAS BEEN REFUSED. WE WOULD REMIND THE GOB AGAIN THAT WE CONSIDER CONTINUING PROGRESS IN THIS AREA TO BE A MATTER OF THE GREATEST INTEREST TO THE US, BOTH IN TERMS OF BILATERAL RELATIONS AND AS A MATTER OF GREAT RELEVANCE IN TWO NATIONS' IMPLEMENTATION OF CSCE PRINCIPLES.

10. ACTION: EMBASSY REQUESTS DEPT'S COMMENTS ON AND APPROVAL OF PROPOSED CSCE APPROACH.  
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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** SHUM, US, XH, UR, CSCE  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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